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## Appendix

## Chronology of Major DPRK Proposals for Talks With Seoul

- 6 Aug 71** Kim Il-song, in a speech at a Pyongyang rally welcoming Prince Sihanouk, expressed willingness to make contacts with all South Korean political parties, including the ruling Democratic Republican Party headed by ROK President Pak Chong-hui, and with public organizations and individuals.
- 4 Jul 72** A joint North-South statement was issued, revealing that talks between North and South Korean delegates had been held in Pyongyang and Seoul. The statement adopted three principles of unification—independent reunification without outside interference, nonuse of force, and national unity transcending ideological differences. The joint statement announced the establishment of a North-South Coordination Committee (NSCC), which subsequently held a series of talks.
- 23 Jun 73** Kim Il-song, in a speech at a Pyongyang rally honoring a Czechoslovak delegation, clarified the North's line on reunification:
- The state of military confrontation should be removed, and tension between the North and South should be eased.
  - The two sides should engage in collaboration and interchange in political, military, diplomatic, economic, and cultural fields.
  - People of all strata in the North and South should participate in the task of national reunification.
  - Although proposals for a North-South confederation date back to 1960, Kim used this occasion to give it a name for the first time, the "Confederal Republic of Koryo." He made clear that under the confederation separate social systems should remain intact in the North and South.

25 Mar 74 Foreign Minister Ho Tam, speaking before the Supreme People's Assembly, proposed a peace treaty with the United States, claiming it was "meaningless" to discuss military matters with the South Koreans because the United States held the "real power" to guarantee peace.

8 Nov 74 At an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the North's front group for reunification, the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland (DFRF), Foreign Minister Ho proposed a joint North-South military commission to replace the Military Armistice Commission.

21 Jul 76 So Chol, a member of the WPK Political Bureau, speaking at a meeting commemorating the 30th anniversary of the formation of the DFRF, called for an end to South Korean "repression" and for resumption of a North-South dialogue. The meeting adopted a letter to South Korea urging that a working-level meeting in Pyongyang or any other place be convened at an early date to plan a "grand national assembly" for "political parties, social organizations, and various circles in the North and South and personages of all strata and circles in the North and South as well as by overseas compatriot organizations and even overseas compatriots."

25 Jan 77 Yang Hyong-sop, secretary of the party's Central Committee, proposed in a speech at a joint conference of political parties and public organizations in Pyongyang that a "North-South political consultative conference" be attended by "representatives of the various political parties and public organizations and the people of all strata in the North and the South." To this end, he said, "liaison officials with credentials" should meet at "Panmunjom or any other place agreed upon at an early date" for preliminary talks. At the same time, he proposed North-South arms reduction talks between "relevant military authorities" on the issues of withdrawing U.S. troops, ending the arms race, reducing military forces and armaments, and discontinuing imports of arms from abroad.

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**9 Sep 78**

Kim Il-song, in an address to a Pyongyang meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, proposed contacts with the South without preconditions. "We are ready to promote unity with any political party in South Korea," he said, "without regard to the present institutions of South Korea and the ideologies cherished by its people." He invited political parties of the South to "come and operate in the North" and urged Seoul to reciprocate.

**23 Jan 79**

The DFRF called for preliminary North-South talks to be convened in June to plan a "pan-national congress" in September, either in Seoul or Pyongyang, to be attended by representatives of "all political parties and social organizations" of the North and South. The proposal led to a series of North-South discussions on reopening a dialogue.

**14 Mar 79**

At the third session of talks between North and South liaison representatives for the formation of a Preparatory Committee for National Reunification at Panmunjom, North Korea signaled a willingness to hold meetings involving official representatives of the South Korean Government. The North specified that its own delegation would consist of representatives of the WPK, the Democratic Party, the reunification front, and the DPRK Government. According to this proposal, the South Korean delegation would be commensurate in both "appellation and composition."

**10 Jul 79**

In a Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement rejecting a U.S.-ROK proposal for tripartite talks, Pyongyang said it would allow "South Korean authorities" to participate as "observers" in U.S.-DPRK talks on U.S. troop withdrawal. It insisted, however, that talks be arranged first "between us and the United States." Participation by South Koreans "would be considered only when problems related to them crop up."

**12 Jan 80**

Premier Yi Chong-ok, in a letter addressed to "Mr. Sin Hyon-hwak, Prime Minister, Republic of Korea," proposed a direct meeting for an "unreserved exchange of views." This was the first time Pyongyang had called for government-to-government contacts.

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10 Oct 80 Addressing the Sixth WPK Congress, Kim Il-song formally proposed the formation of a "Democratic Confederal Republic of Korea," portraying it as the form reunification should take. Previous proposals had always characterized confederation as an initial step toward complete unification.

26 Jan 82 In reply to ROK President Chon's 22 January unification proposal, Kim Il, a member of the WPK Political Bureau, stated, "We are ready to meet the present South Korean rulers even tomorrow" if they first "give up their 'two Koreas' policy, apologize to the nation for their crimes in massacring fellow countrymen, release the political prisoners, and give full political freedom to all people whose political activities are banned." A year earlier, Kim Il had claimed that "all facts show that no true dialogue can be held with such a man as Chon Tu-hwan ... and the question of national reunification cannot be solved with him."

10 Feb 82 Pyongyang issued a statement in the name of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland calling for a 100-man North-South conference. Among the South Koreans invited to participate were Yi-Pom-sok, secretary general to President Chon, listed as "former vice president of the Taehan Red Cross Society," Chong Nae-hyok, speaker of the National Assembly, two other assemblymen, and several members of Chon's reunification advisory council.